181 and not caused by a state of laziness, for although they would not
565 consider working the land at any price, they would not mind traveling thousands of kilometers under often difficult and quite dangerous conditions to go pillage opposing tribes. Once back in camp, they intend to lead a life free from any material cares, shifting the burden to their vassals.

422 They entrust the keeping of the captured herds to the Imrad,
565 reclaiming the beasts from them when they need them and the necessary usufruct for their food. For themselves, they keep only
[231 mounts for war and for transporting household objects and are content
234] with small herds of goats with only the number of head strictly necessary to assure their daily milk needs. In the same way, they
[567] do not own many slaves of their own, for the latter would make so many months to feed, which they are wary of.

565 Although they rely on their Imrad for everything, they do not abuse them, for, as a Tuareg proverb says, "we must not kill the camel which feeds us," and their demands always take into account the wealth and the possibilities of the moment.

566 Every year the Imochar levy a vassalage tax called a tioussé
631 on the Imrad. This tax, fixed for each tribe, includes an annual
651 contribution of a certain number of head of livestock, loads of grain, miscellaneous items /160/ waterskins, tent stakes, etc.), tanned hides, butter, etc. In principal it is invariable and paid to
[643] the aménokal who disposes of it as he wishes, making allowances for the needs of the Imochar.

643 The aménokal leaves the animals which he levies under the
651 management of the Imrad, who furnish him the usufruct from them.

Individual rights of Imochar over Imrad do not exist in principal.
565 Actually they do exist when a man is the last representative of a
631 tribe and levies for himself the rights falling to his tribe.
651 On the other hand, some undertake to make small levies on the Imrad; the latter never refuse. And we must say in defense of the nobles that they treat their Imrad quite generously when a fortunate raid makes them temporarily well off.

565 Unions, or more exactly concubinage, between Imrad and
[595] Negresses are very common.

[567] Imrad have the right to possess black slaves who are employed in household work and in keeping the herds.

114 241 565 Schirmer has said that the Ahaggar Imrad were sedentary peoples entrusted with keeping the garders; (1) he has committed an error,

1. Le Sahara, p. 298.

certainly because of erroneous information. This is all the more curious since Duveyrier had already defined exactly the position of the Imrad. (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 334.

114 565 566 Duveyrier translated the word amrid by the word "serf," which corresponds exactly to the Arab expression ra'aya, and also because the ra'aya are subjects liable to forced labor and taxes, whom the marabouts are not allowed to possess by Moslem law. Duveyrier believed he was confirmed in his opinion because of the fact that the Inislimen of the Ajjer did not have the right to have Imrad. This is an error of interpretation. This Arabic term cannot be suitable under the circumstances, for the social class of the Tuareg Imrad has no equivalent among the Arabs.

We have preferred the term "vassals" which is more suitable [651] in our minds, because the Imrad are not unconditionally subject to forced labor, they pay a perfectly defined vassalage fee, their [643] chiefs participate in the election of the amenokal, and they them- [657] selves own slaves.

/167/ Moreover, the term "vassals" has been adopted by Richer, Deniker, Verneau, etc.

565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
563 Harratin /Haratin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote
[602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their
name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general-
[582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Ihăggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Ihăggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were
[643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an
651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores
[184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous
● [567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they
461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar,
[582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

563 become sedentary, exists in the Sudan, in the Niafunké region.

563 There seems to be a category of low-class Iborelliten who are
567 referred to as Irraouellan. Nicolas considers them former captives
[727] who have been liberated. Chudeau reported an Irraouellan tribe, whose members were said to be freedmen or descendants of former captives. He adds that the children of a Tuareg man and a slave are by law Irraouellan.

We shall add to these different definitions that in the Aïr a slave woman who marries a Tuareg becomes free as does her family, and the children born of her marriage are then called Ikalalen.

[184] Among the Kel-Ahaggar, we do not find any true Iborelliten or Irraouellan tribes, although there are men belonging to these social classes.

567 The Iklan. -- The Iklan (singular, Akli; feminine singular, Taklit) are the serfs, or slaves, of the Tuareg. The name Iklan
[192 144] comes from the Tamashek root Kl, meaning "black being"; (2)

2. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

and indeed these people are foreign to the Tuareg race. They are Negroes of all origins, formerly captured in the Sudan and reduced to slavery by the Tuareg. They form a separate class, which is not a tribe, except when they are freed conditionally or completely. Then they are called Iklan-n-égef or Iderfan, depending on which is the case.

[144] They have founded a family among the Tuareg and given birth to a new race with the most diverse characteristics, from which the white element is not excluded.

[181] Slaves are employed in keeping the flocks, and in the household work of the camp; they share the life of their masters and from their contact with them have acquired an independent nature which makes them love the freedom of nomadism, so much so that it would now be difficult for them to resume the sedentary life of their Ancestors.

567 of their ancestors. Ahaggar slaves are perfectly adapted to the desert and possess physical qualities of sobriety much superior to those of their racial brothers /170/ in the Sudan, who have difficulty living there when they are transported from the Sudan.

The Akli is subject to forced labor at the will of his master. He owes all his work to his master and is his property, but he receives a few advantages and can use a few days of work a week for himself.

In the Ahaggar the Iklan are treated perfectly well by their masters, to whom they are quite attached. They share meals with them and sustain with an even temper the good or bad fortune which the camp enjoys. Their children are reared with those of the Tuareg and on the same footing.

They benefit from certain humanitarian rules which do credit to the Tuareg. Thus a slave who is too young or too old cannot be liberated and must be supported by his master.

[428] The Iklan are bequeathed as a heritage; they may be possessors of animals, whose usufruct they then have; but upon their death these animals fall to their masters and not to their own children.

The Imochar, Inislimen, and Imrad have all rights over their slaves. The latter cannot marry without their consent. Generally, 567 when there are a man slave and a woman slave in the same camp, 582 they are married to each other, and the man receives a goat which 583 he gives to his wife as a bride price. If the slave wants to seek a wife for himself and finds one in another camp, he receives nothing from his master and must find the means to pay his wife's bride price by himself; this bride price is commonly fixed at ten goats. The slaves put in charge of keeping the flocks and who are often absent from the camp because of their occupation usually do not [836] marry. "They take their pleasure where they find it," said Father de Foucauld.

565 The Tuareg often take slave women as concubines. There are 567 several advantages to this: first, they have no bride price to pay, 575

565 and, second, they are dealing with a woman who submits to their
527 caprices more easily than a woman of their race and whom they can
595 change at will. Children born of these concubinages are free but are not members of their father's class. The latter recognizes them as
[428] his, but they are morally considered slaves. However, they can inherit from their father.

565 /171/ Tuareg women of the noble class who have relations with
633 the Iklan are discredited among their own people. But the case is
558 not very rare, it seems, particularly since a legend maintains that
[842] the relations between Imochar women and captives are sterile.

667 The Iklan have very corrupt mores and practice pederasty and
[838 other vices. To steal and lie is instinctive for them, defects found
679] for that matter in most of the Sudanese Negroes.

Thus, when they keep goats in the pasture, they are accustomed
[272] to sucking them. Therefore, in some camps they never receive any milk since it is rightfully presumed that they have served themselves
304 first. Some masters, to protect themselves from these thefts, do not
234] hesitate to padlock the mouths of the herdsmen by perforating their lips. A few years ago, there was still an old woman in the Ahaggar who had suffered this mutilation.

They live very familiarly with their masters, and some have deserved their confidence, either by their intelligence or by their
[644] courage during raids. The former aménokal of the Ahaggar, Moussa ag Amastan, was always accompanied by his Negro Chernach, and the feats of war that they accomplished together are still the object of the most marvelous tales during camp nights.

A slave may ask to change masters when he is mistreated or
567 when he hopes for more advantages. Since the Tuareg generally
685 does not want to be separated from his slave with no recompense, the slave resorts to a subterfuge which consists in cutting off the ear of an animal from the herd of the master to whom he wishes henceforth to belong, or committing some other depredation of the same sort. This offense brings about a right of life or death over the slave who commits it, on the part of the injured party. In practice, according to the accepted custom, this slave automatically becomes

567 his property. In cases of this nature the two parties have usually
[685] come to an agreement beforehand.

The Iklan are responsible for introducing a quantity of words
[177 and new expressions into the Tamashek language, all of them
192] naturally of Sudanese origin. They have a very vulgar language and murder the language of their masters abominably, so that they make a real argot of it.

They have kept a great many characteristics of their folklore,
[536] which we /172/ find in their dances, the pantomimed scenes that they organize among themselves at the time of public rejoicing or of events in the family life of their masters.

Social evolution due to the French occupation will in an indefinite time bring about the disappearance of bondage, which we must explain does not have the inhumane nature that one might presume.

567 It would have been a blunder to immediately impose the
648 liberation of the Iklan, and it would have been contrary to their own interests. Attempts made in this direction in the Sudan have given deplorable results. Iklan liberated from one day to the next are unsettled in class; they cannot and do not want to go back to working the land and thus find it impossible to earn a living.

The disappearance of slavery will come about gradually and individually. It will occur slowly, but inexorably, and it will bring important social transformations among the Tuareg.

One can already observe this evolution among the Ioullimmiden, in Adrar, and particularly around Timbuktu where Imrad women occupy themselves [illegible] now on with grinding millet and doing the heavy housework, which was formerly left to the captives.

567 Iklan-n-Egef. -- Liberation of captives, furthermore, has always existed among the Tuareg in more or less attenuated forms.

It may have several causes, first of which is the excess of captives, which makes a great many useless mouths to feed. The Tuareg thus gave a halfway freedom to some of them whom they

567 charged with tending their flocks. These are the Iklan-n-Egef, or dune captives. In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Bella or Bouzou.

Secondly, captives may be liberated through generosity in return for services rendered; then they are called Iderfan.

The Bella, without being definitely freed, live freely, and the Tuareg let them earn their living the best they can. In addition to tending the flocks, many of them engage in small industries. They 463 gather up wood to sell in the urban centers, make charcoal /173/ for the same destination, and some women have become potters.

They are then organized in tribes and live like nomads in tents, just as the Tuareg, practicing endogamy, but remaining enfecffed to an Imochar or Imrad tribe. In case of a conflict they side wholeheartedly with their masters and participate in combats as foot soldiers armed with javelins.

Several of these tribes are known in the region of Timbuktu, among the Igouadaren and the Tenguéréguif, in the Gao region, among the Ioullimmiden, and among the Kel Dinnik (eastern Ioullimmiden) from the Tahoua region. There are none among the Ihaggaren, however.

In the Ahaggar there are no Iklan-n-Egef except in individual cases.

Iderfan. -- The word Iderfan comes from the root sederf: "to free (by amplification) one who is no longer able to render good service." (1)

1. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

In principal, one cannot get rid of a slave by freeing him if he is stricken by old age or slows down in his work.

Actually the case comes up from time to time, especially among the Sudanese Tuareg. But emancipation may be the result of a pious gesture on the part of the master. At other times, some

●567 have been freed as a group as a reward for some outstanding action. Nicolas mentions the present Tamjert fraction in the center of Tahoua who were freed after the battle of Izerwan where they had courageously resisted the Kel Ahaggar (1898). Many Iderfan go back to cultivation. They often live with the sedentary groups, with whom they join forces. They do small services for the latter, such as tending their flocks.

114 Nicolas likens them to the Harratines of the Kel Ahaggar. This
563 is only partially justified, for, although it is true that a few former
567 slaves work in the centers of cultivation of the Ahaggar, the majority of the Harratin are Negroes from the Tidikelt who freely came to get jobs among the Tuareg. Thus, we must not confuse the Harratin with the Iderfan.

567 As in the case of the Iklan-n-Egef, there are no Iderfan in the Ahaggar except in isolated cases.

564 The Enaden. -- The Enaden (singular, Enad) form the artisan class of the Tuareg. In the Sudan they are called /174/ garassa or gargassa, which is very probably of Sonrhaï origin.

[192] The word Enadan probably comes from enad, meaning "the other," extended to mean "those we don't talk about." (1) This is

1. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

because the Enaden form a closed caste, scorned and cursed by the Tuareg whose repulsion for manual labor is well known.

463 Their role is to manufacture anything the Tuareg may have need
564 of: weapons, wooden table utensils, tent pegs, mehari saddles, and harnessing articles.

In addition, they also willingly engage in the business of barber-
[757 surgeon, and with the little instruments they make they adroitly do
752] bloodletting, cupping, scarification, and other little operations of the same order, including tooth extraction. They are remunerated
[465] for their work when they work for tribes, or, if they are attached to a master, he has them entirely at his disposal.

564 [651] [567] The Enaden do not pay any vassalage dues. Socially, they occupy a place halfway between the Imrad and the Iklan. In certain cases they can even possess captives, and many of them have at their command an affluence unknown among the Imrad, and

[414 531 326]

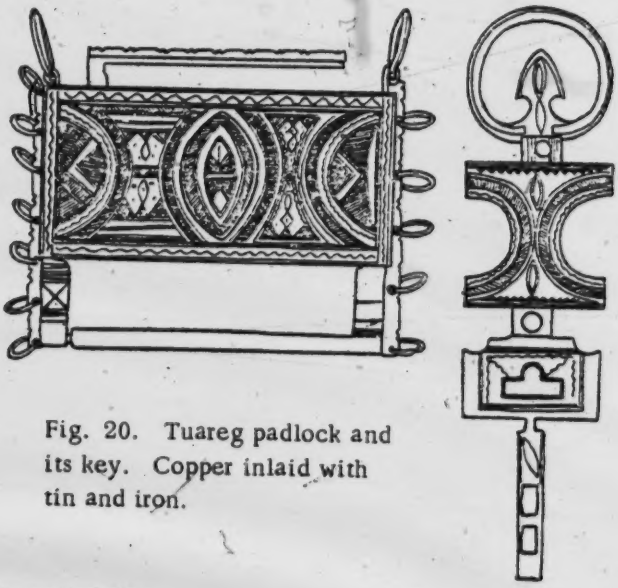

Fig. 20. Tuareg padlock and its key. Copper inlaid with tin and iron.

even among some Imochar.

Chapter 2

Confederation of the Ahaggar

173 Oral traditions handed down among the northern Tuareg maintain that they originally came from the city of Es-Souq in Adrar des Iforas, known as Tademeka in ancient times, and equidistant from Timbuktu and In-Salah.

224 Among the Tuareg hunting is the business of a few men, a few
[463] specialists who have made it their profession; however, we see a
large proportion of Iklan who seem to have more aptitude and more
[567] taste for hunting than their masters. There is certainly an atavistic character in this, a vestige of ancestral mores influenced by the original forest environment, where hunting was most often the basis of human activity. But it is nonetheless true that many Tuareg are very good hunters. The most renowned seem to be among the Issekkemâren and the Dag Râli.

Hunting with hounds is the ~~most~~ popular. They hunt wild sheep
224 and gazelles with saluki-type greyhounds, who serve at the same
231 time as camp dogs /241/ for the Tuareg. These animals, who stand tall, belong to a race halfway between the Kabyle dog and the Berber saluki and must also possess jackal blood. They are particularly suited for running and have innate talent for hunting.

The hunter's job is to track down the animal, to succeed in
224 discovering him, either grazing or in his lair, and to set the dogs on him at the propitious moment when he does not expect it and at a suitable distance. An epic battle between the animal and the dogs sometimes results from this; often the battle necessitates the man's intervention, for example when there is a wild sheep which does not hesitate to confront its assailants. The hunter, who is
[411] usually armed with a long javeline with a wooden shaft, then tries to stick his weapon in the animal's body and kill it. When it is a question of gazelles, he only needs let the dogs alone. If they can catch it, the animal will be quickly neutralized by the powerful jaws of the saluki.

Beside the common hunting with hounds, the Tuareg engage in trapping, which is a lazy method of hunting. It is all the more appreciated in the Sahara because game is rare and wary, and a certain amount of luck is always involved in capturing it.

The Ihaggaren use two types of traps: traps with radial points and torsion traps in the shape of an arc.

assassin be returned to the victim's family. If he was not known, however, the djema, or assembly of notables, designated a man from the tribe to go make himself prisoner in his place. There is no example of the hostage's having been put to death in such a case. Serious cases were usually judged by the amenokal, who was aided by four assessors, two taken from each side.

/296/ Suicide. -- Suicide is as rare as murder among the Tuareg. When one occurs, the person who committed suicide is abandoned on the ground unburied, and the camp is moved and abandoned forever. The Koran disapproves of suicide, and the Tuareg regard the suicide as if he had never existed and must never speak of him again.

Two crimes are blamed on the suicide: 1) doing away with oneself, which is not permitted for a human being who owes his life to God; 2) offending God in this way.

The soul of a suicide cannot find refuge and wanders forever. It likes to return to the spot where it left its mortal covering, and people claim that they can hear it nearby in the evening and that it makes so much noise that it is impossible to sleep.

Death. -- The Tuareg do not fear death. When one of them sees that he is dying, he gathers his relatives around him and gives his last instructions. Then, according to the religious principles which he may have neglected during his life but which he recalls at the final moment, he pronounces the "Fatika /fatiha? Ed./" or if he does not have the strength for that, he raises the index finger of his right hand and breathes his last.

The body is immediately washed in lukewarm water and wrapped in a shroud into which aromatic herbs are put, while the slaves go to dig the grave on a neighboring high spot. The grave is made of a little trench with two stages such as the Arabs use. The body is carried on a kind of stretcher ans taken to the burial place, head first, by four men. It is then placed on its right side with the face turned in the direction of Mecca.

When raids were led against Sudanese camps, they were as interested in the Negroes and Negresses as they were in the camels. The kidnappers kept some of them to serve as servants and sold the others on the markets of In-Salah and the Touat.

Once the booty was stolen, the raiders went by forced march to the point agreed upon in advance, where they rejoined the other group of meharists.

The raided people, on the other hand, organized themselves, but they did not try to overtake the raiders immediately and did not wear themselves out in vain pursuit. As the return route of the raiders was known, they tried to reach a well where they had to pass; if they were successful in arriving before them and cutting them off from water, the real combat began, this time fierce and often quite deadly.

Fig. 55. Tuareg lance. The iron blade is decorated with copper inlays. The part where the hand is put is covered with leather, and a little leather loop placed behind is intended to hold the index finger which gives greater propulsion to the lance when it is thrown.

Hard pressed, the Tuareg formed in a square behind their camels and defended themselves under cover of their bucklers; /323/ when they saw it was impossible to take possession of the well, they abandoned their loot. The battle came to an end, and the raiders were rarely pursued. In the opposite camp, a certain number of men were left as sentries to guard against return offensives, and the others tried to gather up their animals and lead them back to the douar /encampment/.

When the raiding party was safe, the men divided up the booty in more or less equal parts, depending on each person's merits during the fight. But in some tribes, customs related to the tioussé demanded

565 well as for potential victims, alien camps or
233 caravans which they can raid themselves. The
463 vassals in their turn are responsible for the daily management and immediate protection of the flocks and herds, and also constitute an armed reserve that can be called up quickly in case a battle becomes imminent or the opportunity for a major raid presents itself. The
[567] slaves take care of the domestic service and household chores of the camps while their boys go out as shepherds to the flocks.

565 Thus it is clear that the Tuareg class system
642 is a necessity of pastoral life in the Ahaggar;
[182] for no pastoral community can survive there without nomadizing, and no community of nomads can survive without a rigidly formalized division of labor and authority similar to that embodied in the class system of the Tuareg. It now becomes clear also that the seemingly paradoxical combination, within the social framework, of rigidity during the period of a single adult lifetime and a relative fluidity over slightly longer periods still so short as to span often no more than a couple of generations and sometimes less, is not in fact a paradox at all. It merely reflects in simple functional terms the fact that extreme conditions call for an extreme response, that the framework within which the allocation of authority is made at various levels in the communal structure must be very firmly established but must also allow considerable freedom periodically in the choice of those who are to occupy critical positions of decision and command so as to avoid the danger of having such positions filled automatically by persons unfit to occupy them, a danger that could well be quickly fatal to the whole community.

And finally we see that Tuareg government really has nothing essential in common with the feudal system of mediæval Europe to which it has so often been confusingly compared.[9] In the last analysis authority resides in the vassals, for they can make and at least
[643] in theory break the mightiest of all the nobles, the Amenokal himself, and they can do all this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.

powerful neighbor in exchange for some specified kind of continuing or periodic service. Among the Tuareg the relationship between "noble" and "vassal" looks much the same at first glance, but this is an optical illusion, a case of merely superficial resemblance.

291 tract which otherwise suffer severely in an arid climate, even when the ambiant temperature is only moderately high. Thus it is clear that the teguelmoust does have a very real practical value, regardless of what the Tuareg may say; and it is clear also that the men who wear it need it far more than do their womenfolk who go without.

291 512 462 It is not true that Tuareg women of the Ahaggar (fig. 48) are exposed to the rigors of their environment either as much or in the same way as are their menfolk. The men are out and about a good deal of the time, riding here and there across the countryside on errands of one sort or another or on long journeys far away, while the women sit quietly in the shelter of their tents, gossiping, telling folk tales, doing fancy leatherwork, and teaching tribal lore and sometimes Tifinagh [11] to the children. Every family that is not miserably poor has at least two or three [567] slaves to fetch and carry water, prepare the meals and do the other daily chores, so that the mistress of a normal Tuareg household in the Ahaggar has no need to take a single step outside her tent except when camp is moved, or to visit with her neighbors and to answer calls of nature.

291 171 Although it is true that Tuareg women do not wear veils, it is also true that women of the other Saharan nomad tribes, Arabs included, seldom if ever wear veils either, except on the very rare occasions when they visit a sedentary settlement or town, and even then not always by any means. But Tuareg and other Saharan nomad women alike all draw a corner of the head shawl (or turban cloth) across the nose and mouth occasionally as a simple matter of physical protection, and this has the same practical effect as putting on a veil does.

291 All this data on the wearing of veils and going without them proves nothing, to be sure, but it does go to show that the Tuareg teguelmoust itself can have had a strictly utilitarian origin after all, as Blanguernon (1955, p. 99) implied, quite apart from the origin of the elaborate and rigid ceremonial quality with which its use has become imbued.

291 177 As for the date at which the teguelmoust

[11] The Tuareg alphabetic script.

515 cal condition, and they appear to sweat much more, perhaps in part because nearly all of them persist in maintaining their European eating and drinking habits. There is a strong hint here that a systematic investigation of the relationship between diet and sweat loss in the Sahara might produce some very interesting and useful results.

When an Arab nomad of the northern Desert goes to town, the first thing he usually does is to head for the public baths and get himself thoroughly steamed and scrubbed all over, but the Ahaggar Tuareg almost never visit any town big enough to have public or even private baths. A few permanent waterholes and a number of seasonal ones are to be found, however, scattered thinly through most of the Ahaggar massif, and the Tuareg of the region make use of such pools occasionally, though perhaps not quite as often as do their cousins of the Aïr, of whom Rodd (1926, p. 163) wrote as follows: "In justice to my friends, I must admit that they washed their clothing, and especially their white trousers, very frequently, and when they washed their person, they did so very thoroughly from head to foot, with much rubbing and a prodigious splashing of volumes of water." The Tuareg of the Ahaggar, women as well as men, wash themselves with equal gusto when they wash at all, and this is not the kind of thing that one would expect of people who have any real dislike or fear of water as such.

And finally it should be noted that among Saharan peoples in general, including the Tuareg of the Ahaggar, bodily cleanliness seems to show a pretty uniform positive correlation with economic status, as it so often does elsewhere in the world.

Racial Minorities, Parasitic Groups and Race
● 567 **Mixture.** We have already gone far enough into the question of slavery in the Ahaggar so that not much remains to be said about it here beyond a brief summing up of the situation. The slaves are almost all Negro captives from the Sudan, or the descendants of such captives. They are chattels which can be bought, sold and inherited, and they do all the manual labor and housework around the camp and also acts as shepherds. A slave can seldom marry without the permission of his master, who usually advances the necessary

567 dowry. But slaves are well fed and cared for as a rule; they get two or three days off each week to look after their own affairs, their children are brought up with the children of their masters, and custom forbids the freeing of a slave who is either too old or too young to fend for himself. A slave may even have a few goats of his own, although when he dies they are not inherited by his family but revert to his master instead. Barth (1857a, vol. 1, p. 387) notes as a striking exception that he saw slaves hitched to a plow and driven with whips in the Auderas Valley, some 60 miles northwest of Agadès.

567 595 [827] Female slaves are often taken as concubines by Tuareg men of the Ahaggar, who prize them because they are less capricious and overbearing than Tuareg women are and "because they have cool skins," a point which would bear further investigation with a skin temperature machine. The children of such unions are often recognized by their fathers but do not inherit from them, and, although free, they have a debased social standing little better than that of their slave forebears. Moussa ag Amastan, who was Amenokal of the Ahaggar from 1905 to 1921,[12] remained unmarried for over 50 years, during most of which time he lived with a bevy of Negro concubines and a young Tuareg girl, named Harendou, whom he had captured on a raid into the Niger Bend country (Benhazera, 1908, p. 142; Lhote, 1955, pp. 221–23). Although this case was exceptional, it was by no means unique.

567 The slaves of the nomadic Tuareg, like those of sedentary communities in the Sahara, seem to have no tribal or clan organizations, but they too have a strong feeling of corporate solidarity that finds expression now and then in nocturnal jamborees which are Sudanese in character.

326 171 The smiths of the Ahaggar present a familiar culture pattern that characterizes groups of smiths and tinkers which, as we have seen, are to be found living among a whole series of nomadic peoples scattered all the way from Baluchistan through Arabia and on, southwest-

[217] [12] Lhote (1955, p. 220) gives the date of Moussa's death as 1920, the official genealogical table of the Ahaggar nobility, which is kept in the archives of the French Army post at Tamanrasset, gives it as 1921, and Foley (1930, p. 9) gives it as 1922. In 1956

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.

ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵃⴰⵇ ⵏ ⵜⵉⴼⵉⵏⴰⵔ ⵙ ⵜⵉⵎⵓⵔⴰⵜ,

ⵜⴰⵍ ⵙ ⵓⵙⵏⴰⵡ ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵃⴰⵇ, ⵜⴰⵔⴰ ⵙⵉⵏⵜ

The Bible in Tamahaq

(*Ruth. Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga."

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" ⵓⵙⴼⴰⵔ plural "isefran" ⵉⵙⴼⴰⵏ, and believe in their efficacy. This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees that he hopes to get for nothing.

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly be very well received by the Tuareg.

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" ⵜⴰⵣⵣⴰⵇ, gonorrhea, "talaoa't;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi" ⵜⵙⵙⴻⵎⴷⵀⵉ; and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" ⵜⴰⴽⵎⵓ-ⵏ-ⵉⵔ'ⴻⴼ.

Chapter XVII

Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have.

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes without expense.

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished.

4: Benhazera--29 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

The negroes and negresses are well treated by the Tuareg 563
who do not impose hard labor upon them. The negroes are pri- 567
marily busy with the flocks, which they drive to pasture and water. [233]
The negresses are concerned with the kitchen; they go after [357]
water and take care of the children.

[231]
[291]
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Tuareg Watering their Sheep at the Tin Zaouaten Well

Negroes and negresses also gather the harvest of "toulloult" and "afezzou" grains, but this is more fun than work, for everyone takes part in it with them, in gay groups.

Many negroes eventually become the trusted men of their masters, who put them in charge of caravans or even of responsible missions. Thus, the amenokal Moussa had a trusted negro, Chernach, whom he regarded highly, for, he said, "I know that this man would have himself killed for me." Moreover, he gave him a gun, a spear, and a saber. /33/ These negroes are very happy and can consider themselves as freed.

Besides, there are few negroes who are not armed by their masters with a "tar'da" (spear with a wooden shaft) and with a "takouba" (saber), of which they are very proud. The best are sent on raids, and it seems that they acquit themselves very well in combat. 411 563 567 726

As to the negresses, there are some who confine themselves to attending to the care of the household and the tent, but there are quite a few others who are raised to the dignity of concubines. A noble Tuareg prefers to share his bed with a negress rather than to marry a "tamr'idt" (serf). He marries late, and when he decides to, he looks especially for a woman who, by her /34/ birth, will give his children future rights to command. The negress profits from this. 563 567 595

The negroes and negresses are not, as a rule, mistreated by the Tuareg. Besides, if the case should arise, they know how to use the following curious custom in use among the Tuareg. 563 567 685

When a slave, negro or negress, becomes too unhappy with his master and wishes to become the slave of another master, he splits the ear of a child or a horse or hamstrings a mehari; in short, damages anything valuable that belongs to the master he wishes to have; then he stays beside his deed. Naturally, in reparation for the harm done, the negro is given in full possession to the injured master. There may be protest, if there was connivance between the slave and the master he wishes to have, and, in this case, the oath is deferred and the case brought before a marabout or a cadi. [692]

Thus the negress Tenoufek, who belonged to Semana, sister of Bika ag Moumou of the Kel Ahnet, slit the ear of a mare belonging to Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet. In reparation the negress was given to Sidi, with whom she still remains.

Another example: the negro of El Biodh ould Settafi of the Settaf, hamstrung two camels belonging to Ibedi ag Bassi of the Ir'echoumen. In reparation El Biodh had to give Ibedi the negro and a camel besides. /35/

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air

and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *efeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud *(tajahamt)* so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tasili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of wells *(tanout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling *(edamous)* and a square hut *(ekeber)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters.

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. – Urvoy 1936, p. 198ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while

5: Nicolaisen, E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

634 565 vassal clan as its particular vassals. A few vassal clans were also attached to the noble clan Kel Azel. I must admit however that I have not been able to gather very precise information about the relations between the Kel Azel and their vassal clans which were the following: Ijakarkaren, Imezzoûren, Ikaoukan, Iforas, and Ikochechiten (a section of the Immezzilalen). The noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg say that these clans lived close to the Kel Azel to protect the latter clan, but they may also have had other obligations. For the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg also had con- [463] stantly a few clans of vassals living close to them, and two of these (Iberdianen and Irobouren) are said to have carried out such work which could not be done properly [701] by black-skinned slaves, while one clan (Igendianen) acted as permanent soldiers and protectors.

Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals *(Imghad)* 114 565 614 as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:– "One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for long periods or to trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the [422] camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible [672] for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances." (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rodd however also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen [567] both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg, nor have I found any tradition of original cultural distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, although I have inquired much about this.

Rodd divides the vassal clan into three groups according to their origin: 174 565 614 1) Vassals who were attached to noble clans already before the immigration to Air from the north; 2) Vassals whose ancestors lived in Air before the immigration of noble clans; 3) Vassals who have been subdued in fairly recent wars (Rodd 1926a, p. 138). The vassal clans of Air unfortunately have very little traditional knowledge about their origin, but at least some of them will claim that they came from the north as did all noble Tuareg. It is very probable that the noble Tuareg already before their immigration had vassal clans attached to them as it is claimed by the noble Kel Ferouan Tuareg. In other words: the political system of the Kel Ferouan Tuareg cannot be understood in complete isolation from political systems of the Northern Tuareg groups of Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer from where the Air Tuareg have emigrated.

571 /48 cont./ Each tribe possessed slaves (iklan), bought or
564 captured in the Sudan. They lived with Tuareg families, carry-
[567] ing out domestic chores, tending goats, extracting salt, digging wells. These slave families were an integral part of the tribe and followed it in its moves.

The harratin were free or freed men, generally Negroes, often natives of the Touat, come to cultivate the arable lands of the Ahaggar. They worked under two contract systems, which are still in force and which we shall study further on.

The Tribes

631 In the preceding chapter we saw that each noble tribe possessed imrads, or vassals. Each of these imrad tribes has a chief called "amrar," who rules the tribe according to custom. A tribe can be divided and subdivided. The tribe possesses a pasture region of its own, in which no other tribe may sojourn without a previous agreement with the amenokal, and that only in exceptional circumstances. The nobles may sojourn as they like on the lands of the vassals. The imrad tribes pay a due to the amenokal as a sign of their vassalage. This tax is called "tioussé." The payments are always in kind and in general are scrupulously discharged. This revenue enables the amenokal to uphold his rank suitably during the almost daily receptions, but it is not enough to cover the expenses of his command completely.

/49/ The Nobles

565 The Kel Rela at present constitute the most important noble tribe of the Ahaggar. These nobles, called in Tamashek "ihaggarènes," are split into three subgroups: the iboglanes, the nembas, and the ikérémoïens. These subgroups are related and increasingly practice endogamy.

The Kel Rela are without doubt the handsomest specimens of the Tuareg type. Does this derive from the fact that they have

565 [563] /57 cont./ The harratin, who are also Negroes, are ranked as low as the iklan by the Tuareg, who have a high degree of racial prejudice.

However, there is a nuance: the "akli" (plural: "iklan") belongs to his master, the Targui; he cannot leave him, and, if he is no longer bought and sold because of the presence of the French, he considers himself the property of his master. The /58/ hartani is a free man; he may live where he wants to, do what work he will where he will; he makes contracts with the Tuareg and is dependent on them only in so far as his work is. Moreover, as a resident of the Ahaggar, he must observe the customs of the country.

[622] [631] He is under the authority of the village chief, who is also a hartani, responsible to the amenokal (1).

1. This ranking and this information concern the observance of custom and have nothing to do with French law, which is administered by the head of the annex and by the judicial authorities at Batna.

The harratin of the Ahaggar apparently have two possible origins. Some come from the oases of the Touat and the Tidikelt. This population movement has, it appears, always [166] existed. The number of these harratin varies; there is, in fact, a continual coming and going between the Ahaggar and the oases of the north, according with the dry and wet years.

The other harratin are iklan who have been freed by the Tuareg. The chief cause of this emancipation is the growing [567] poverty of the nobles and vassals, who no longer have sufficient resources to feed and clothe their domestics.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

167 tion into Ayr many Tuareg of that region emigrated, and some of them settled as far away as Darfur
[649] where they and their descendants still live near El-Fasher. Another emigration took place after the
162 Tuareg revolt against the French in 1917. Many Tuareg of the *Kel Ayr* and the *Iwllemmeden* fled to Northern Nigeria to settle in villages and towns around Kano and Katsena. According to Rodd about 30.000 Ayr Tuareg fled to Nigeria after the revolt (Rodd 1926a, p. 361).

161 According to statistics for the period 1933–38 the total number of Tuareg living in the Algerian Sahara and to the south in the republics of Niger and Soudan is estimated by Lhote to be about 240.000.

162 They were divided among the main groups as follows:—

Kel Ahaggar	4.254
Kel Ajjer	1.508
Kel Adrar	4.223
Kel Ayr & Kel Geres	27.765
Iwllemmeden	161.160
Tengeregif	40.000

162 These figures need certain corrections. Thus the *Kel Ajjer* are more numerous than indicated by the
161 above figure, which does not include Tuareg of that group living in Libya. On the other hand the
[567] figure for *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg is much too high; it includes about 94.000 negroid slaves which should be deducted, as slaves are not included in the other figures. Nevertheless, Lhote believes that the actual number of free Tuareg is about 300.000 as the birth rate is on the increase. Thus statistics for 1950 indicate that there are 4.611 fairskinned Tuareg in Ahaggar (Lhote 1955a, p. 157). Nicolas assumes that there are about 500.000 Sudanese Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. Avertissement). This figure is, no doubt, too high. If we assume that there are in all 300.000 Tuareg, we find that the two northern groups *Kel Ajjer & Kel Ahaggar* living in the true desert country constitute about three per cent of the total Tuareg population.*

197 The Tuareg language is known as *tamahaq* in the two northern groups, *tamacheq* in the south. It has four main branches or dialects, namely 1) *tahaggart* spoken by the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ajjer*; 2) *tadraq* spoken by the Tuareg of *Adrar-n-Foras*; 3) *tayrt* spoken by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*; 4) *tawllemmet* spoken by the *Iwllemmeden* and other Sudanese Tuareg. Grammatically these four dialects are closely related, but there are important distinctions in pronunciation and vocabulary. The dialects are on the whole mutually intelligible.

212 The alphabet known as *tifinar* is known in all Tuareg groups. It is related to the ancient Libyan script. Several authors have stated that *tifinar* is not so widely known among the modern Tuareg as it was in the past. It is true that certain Northern Tuareg have adopted the Arabic alphabet, but it is very difficult even nowadays to find adult Tuareg who do not know their proper script which is also widely used for letters. This, anyway, is true of the Tuareg groups I have visited, and it must be added that I have never found any proof of the statement so frequently seen in literature that the alphabet is

* Considering the statistics for 1933–38 (240.000 ÷ 94.000) the total number of true Tuareg in 1950 would appear to be lower than 300.000.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 5. Veiled vassal Tuareg. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

Fig. 6. Irrigation farmer of the *Iburelliten*, that is descendants of mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and Negroes. The man is patrilineally relcated to the noble *Taytok* tribe, matrilineally to slaves. Ahaggar, Amsel.

181 and there are indeed many Tuareg both in Ahaggar and in Ayr who wear Islamic amulets which are believed to make the wearers look "great and important". "Prestige" is constantly in the mind of all Tuareg who are much more sophisticated than other people living within their country.

181 Most true Tuareg are nomadic stock-breeders who will not engage in the strenuous work of irriga-
433 tion agriculture. The Tuareg will readily engage in any strenuous work connected with stock-breeding,
461 caravan trading, and in the past also in raiding expeditions, which were organized by people of the nobility, but agricultural work is generally much despised. However, there are in all groups certain families or tribes the members of which subsist predominantly by agriculture, and are nevertheless considered true Tuareg by pastoralists. These agricultural Tuareg will be mentioned in a later chapter,
564 and we shall now pass on to a brief description of various negroid castes and of other non-Tuareg
567 people living within the boundaries of Tuareg territory:—

Iklan (sing. *Akli*). These are the proper slaves who are very negroid. Nicolas believes that the word *Akli* (pl. *Iklan*) is in fact derived from a k-l root meaning "to be black" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189), but

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 7. Tuareg boy of the vassal tribe *Imezzureg* in Ayr.

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Foucauld states that it does not refer to black skin-colour but only to membership of a particular caste (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 787). However, Tuareg slaves are Negroes taken during raids and warfare in the Sudan or bought from slave markets in Sudanese towns and cities. The Sudanese origin of slaves is also indicated by the Ahaggar word *Ibenheren* (sing. *Ébenher*), which term refers to a slave who speaks only a Sudanese language. It is frequently used by Northern Tuareg as an abuse of their

[648] slaves, particularly of slave children. Among the Northern Tuareg slavery is still practised with the tacit consent of the French military administration. Most Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have slaves to take care of flocks and herds and to perform various domestic tasks. These slaves live in pastoral camps of the Tuareg, and in Ahaggar they have frequently told me that they felt superior to

[648] the black-skinned agriculturists though the latter largely descend from freed slaves. In the Southern Tuareg groups slavery is officially abolished, perhaps because the Southern Tuareg are governed by civil administrators. But it seems as if the official abolition of slavery in the south was also a result of the Tuareg revolt against the French 1916–1917, and very few Ayr Tuareg have slaves nowadays. However, the manumission of slaves is not just a recent phenomenon due to European influence. Slaves have been freed long before the advent of French colonization at the beginning of our century. There are in the south whole groups of slaves who have been manumitted at an unknown date in the past, and these people are known among the Ayr Tuareg by the term *Irawélen* most of whom are nomadic stock-breeders culturally akin to true pastoral Tuareg. They are also known by the Hausa term *Buzu*, which term again corresponds to the Sonray word *Béla*. This latter word, however, may sometimes refer also to people who are considered a kind of slaves by the Tuareg. Nicolas divides the freed slaves among the *Iwillemmeden* into three groups, viz. *Iklan-n-Egef*, *Irawelan*, and *Iderfan*. The two first groups comprise pastoralists also known as *Buzu*, or *Béla*, while most members of the last

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

group are sedentary agriculturists (Nicolas 1950a, p. 190). In Ahaggar most freed slaves have become incorporated in the negroid caste now to be mentioned. 564 567

Izeggaren (sing. *Azeggar*). This term designates the caste of agricultural Negroes known to the Arabs as *Ḥarratin* (sing. *Ḥartani*). In Ahaggar this caste has a rather mixed origin. It did not exist in this 564

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Fig. 8. Vassal woman with amulet cases and snail-shells hanging around her neck. Ahaggar, the *Ajjah-en-tehit* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

region until about a hundred years ago. During the reign of the Ahaggar *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed* (1830–1877) black-skinned agriculturists of the Tidikelt oases immigrated to Ahaggar to cultivate gardens on behalf of the pastoral Tuareg. The agriculturists of Tidikelt when settled in Ahaggar were joined by many Tuareg slaves (*Iklan*) who are now free and known as *Izeggaṛen*, or *Ḥarratin*, like the immigrants. People of this particular caste, as a result of its mixed origin, are frequently bilingual, speaking Arabic as well as Tuareg language (*tamahaḳ*). The *Izeggaṛen* (*Ḥarratin*) are generally less negroid than the slaves. They are racially very mixed and many of them have certain europid features. Their skin-colour is less frequently black than dark brown, and the name *Izeggaṛen* (sing. *Azeggaṛ*) refers to that particular colour. An agricultural caste identical with that of *Izeggaṛen* does not seem to exist in other Tuareg groups, but a negroid agricultural population of the Rat oasis known as *Ikewweren* apparently has much the same status. A few families of the agriculturists living at Abalessa in Ahaggar claim descent from *Ikewweren* immigrants.

Kel Ġanet (sing. *W Ġanet*). This word refers to the inhabitants of the Ġanet (Djanet) oasis in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The population of this oasis is a very mixed one. Negroid types are prevalent but fair-skinned europid types are not uncommon. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer the *Kel Ġanet* have much the same position as Tuareg vassals (Imṛad), while in Ahaggar, where there are *Kel Ġanet* immigrants, their status is rather like that of other sedentary agriculturists mentioned above. In their homeland the *Kel Ġanet* may possess slaves like other Tuareg vassals, but those living in Ahaggar are never slave-owners.

Ineden (*Ineden* in Ahaggar) (sing. *Ened*). These are the blacksmiths who are found in all Tuareg groups. They form a very important caste as Tuareg craft is little developed. The Tuareg obtain their weapons and many other implements from the blacksmiths who also make silver ornaments for Tuareg women. If it were not for the blacksmiths the Tuareg material culture would indeed be a poor one. People of the other black-skinned castes are also highly dependent upon the blacksmiths who make hoes, sickles, and the like. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg there are very few blacksmiths – only a few families who live in agricultural settlements. In Southern Tuareg groups blacksmiths are very numerous, and many of them lead a pastoral life similar to that of the true Tuareg. The origin of the blacksmith caste is unknown. Many blacksmiths claim their ancestor or patron saint to be *Sidna Dawud*, that is "Our Lord David", who is said to have lived in an eastern country near Mekka. This myth intimates Jewish descent and it is a fact that there are many Jews among smiths and goldsmiths in Northern Africa and in the Middle East. This is well documented in literature (cf. Nicolaisen 1963). A relationship between Tuareg blacksmiths and Jews is also in accordance with two traditions told about the immigration of blacksmiths to Tuareg countries:— 1) According to a tradition collected by Lhote, the blacksmiths descend from Jews who originally lived in the oasis of Tementit in Tawat. At the end of the 15th century they were driven southwards by the Arabs (Lhote 1955a, p. 210 f.). 2) A tradition collected by Foucauld claims the blacksmiths to be Jews from Morocco. They followed Berber-speaking tribes from that area on their southwards migration along the Atlantic coast (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1300). These traditions are interesting and they do not disagree with the fact that most blacksmiths among the Northern Tuareg comparatively recently have immigrated from Ayr and Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas. It is difficult to state the original racial position of the blacksmiths. Though most of them are predominantly negroid there are also rather europid types among them, and Tuareg of Ayr

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

But pastoralists of Arab descent are limited to a few scattered individuals or families in the Ayr area in contrast to the extended Sudanese country around the Niger, where whole pastoral tribes claim patrilineal descent from Arabs, while matrilineally most of them are Tuareg. 101 563

There are many other people within the extended country inhabited by the Tuareg. Very important in the south is a numerous population of Hausa-speaking Negroes. The so-called *Imeggedezen* (sing. *Ameggedez*) of Agadez speak Hausa which language is spoken by various other sedentary people of that region and further south. There are also a few Songay-speaking people at Agadez, and Ingal further west is predominantly inhabited by Songay-speakers known to the Ayr Tuareg as *Isawegen*. The Songay, as is well known, are now found almost exclusively along the Niger, but Ayr was once conquered by the Songay, and Barth describes Agadez as a Songay-speaking city. [197]

In the south the pastoral Fulani are now invading the grazing grounds formerly reserved to and owned by the Tuareg. Camps of pastoral Fulani are frequently seen nowadays even as far north as the southern outskirts of the Ayr Massif around Agadez and Ingal. When grazing is good the Fulani may even move further north into the Talak plains with their herds of long-horned cattle. Many other people are frequently met in Tuareg country, e.g. the Tebu, and the Kanuri, who frequently come to Agadez. In Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer there are even a few individuals who descend from Tebu women.

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Fig. 13. Mother and son. Slaves of the Tuareg in Ayr.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 17. A slave-boy takes kids out of the stone-enclosure (*agrov*) to let them suck. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tahlé* tribe.

*233 yielding decreases after mating. It is said that some goats yield milk in the whole period of gestation, while others have no milk whatever during most of that period.

The advantage of free mating is further reduced because goats, if mated too often, become emaciated, and for the northern breed their coat of long hair, so important to craft (cf. p. 263 ff.), will not develop fully. Added to this, kids born in the hot summer season will often be of inferior quality, as they suffer from heat and the lack of fresh annual plants during their period of growth. Again, the mother animals may yield so little milk in summer that it is not even sufficient for the nourishment of their kids.

The free mating of goats is not generally desirable, and therefore most Tuareg practise a system of regulation which varies with the qualities of pastures. If reproduction of the flock is badly needed it may happen that all goats are mated twice a year, but it is considered an ideal in good years to divide the animals into two parts which bring forth kids and yield milk at different seasons.

*233 In Ayr when the flock is divided into two parts to bring forth kids and yield milk at different seasons,
132 one part brings forth kids during the season of *akasa* when the pastures of annual plants are very
[137] rich, the other at the end of the winter season during the period known as *tahsit* at which time certain other plants germinate, and fruit-pods of the *afagag* acacia (*Acacia Raddiana*), which are extremely good for fodder, fall to the ground. If kids are wanted for a flock during the season of *akasa*, which is the best season for the birth of kids, the goats are mated in winter. When all the she-goats have been covered, the penis of the he-goat is bound around the foreskin by means of a cord – a method which is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ikkan*, to the Northern Tuareg as *uyun* (cf. Fig. 25). If kids are wanted for a flock in spring at the season of *tahsit*, mating stops with the binding of he-goats at the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 23. Slave boy milking goats – a task which is normally performed by women. The milk-bowl is held in the left hand, and the milking is done with the right hand, while the goat's left hind leg is held fast beneath the right upper arm. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehld* tribe.

GOAT MILKING

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Fig. 24. Tuareg milkmaid milking a goat as described Fig. 23. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehld* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Each of the three vegetational zones of Ahaggar has its advantages and disadvantages. If we consider a good year when rain has fallen abundantly with a resultant regeneration of all fodder plants, the *Atakor* zone has very excellent pasture. For the plains and the stony mountain slopes are then entirely covered with annual plants which by the Tuareg are considered the very best fodder. The Tuareg also claim that the upper mountain zone is preferable because of its cooler climate, which has a beneficial influence on the lactation of domestic animals. The disadvantage of the *Atakor* zone is the lack of acacias to which can be added the scarcity of fuel. The *Tarayin* zone possess characteristics of the *Atakor* zone and of the *Abada* zone. The *Abada* country is botanically very different from *Atakor*. It has annual pastures of great value when abundant rainfall has been experimented and it also has valuable pastures of perennial plants. With heavy rain the *Abada* country is excellent for stock-breeding, and fuel can be found everywhere. But the Abada country is hotter than are the zones of *Tarayin* and *Atakor*.

If rain falls abundantly all over Ahaggar there is good pasture in all three zones. But rainfall is more frequent and heavier at high altitudes than in the *Abada* zone, so that *Atakor* normally has by far the best pasture of annual plants which spring up late in summer or in autumn. The *Abada* zone on the other hand has the very best pasture of perennial plants, notably acacias that grow around the lower parts of the valleys which are always flooded when it rains in the high mountains.

The fluctuations of plant development determine the nomadic migrations of the Ahaggar Tuareg. A few tribes have their normal grazing grounds in *Atakor* (e.g., the *Dag Ŗali* and the *Kel Tazulet*). They camp in this zone at most seasons to let their goats and sheep feed on fresh and dry annual pasture. In dry years and during the hot summer season they may move to the *Tarayin* zone where there are perennial fodder plants, but they rarely camp in the *Abada* country. Many tribes have their normal grazing grounds in the *Abada* zone (e.g., the *Aguh-en-tehlé*, the *Ayt Lowayen*, the *Iheyawen Hada*, and the *Kel Ŗela*), but move to the *Atakor* when annual pasture is good in this region. They live in *Atakor* with tents and flocks when annual plants are green, while the rest of the year they camp in the *Abada* country to let their animals feed on acacias and other perennial species. Finally there are two tribes (*Tégehé-n-Efis* and *Iklan-en-tawsit*), the members of which camp in the *Abada* country all the year round even when rich annual pasture is found in *Atakor*. However, members of these tribes may send their camel herds to the *Atakor* zone, accompanied by herdsmen, while tents and flocks remain in the lower country.

With the exception of a few noble households which keep up their old tradition to subsist largely on camel's milk, the Ahaggar Tuareg do not keep their she-camels in Ahaggar unless there are excellent pastures of annual plants in this area. They take their camels to pastures far away from Ahaggar, notably to the Tamesna region where they have their animals guarded by herdsmen who are frequently slaves. In very dry years there are very few camels in Ahaggar – just the animals needed for riding and transportation. It is in fact very easy to take camels to distant pastures, and it is most necessary to give these animals the utmost care as they are most valuable and their breeding is a very slow process (cf. p. 56). Goats do not need such excellent fodder as do camels. They can eat almost everything, but in dry years goats may also suffer severely from lack of suitable fodder. This was the case in the year 1954/55 when I stayed in Ahnet and in Ahaggar. In the small camps of three to four tents each it was

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Fig. 98. A slave watering goats by means of the leather bucket called *aga*. Water is drawn from a well and poured out into a hole dug in the clayey ground. The goat standing to the left is sheared – a token of the summer season. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

conditions, and herdsmen, who live with camelherds far away from camps and wells subsisting on camel's milk, do not consider water necessary. Should domestic animals have eaten salt or salty plants they are very eager for water even in winter. When I lived in Ahaggar with my camels during the winter 1954/55 they had rightly to be watered every ten days, but in regions where they fed mainly on saliferous plants they had to be watered more frequently. However, domestic animals must not be watered too often as this would make them slow and emaciated, and a camel must not be worked too hard the day after it has been watered.

Tuareg camps are always found around wells, pools, or other types of water places for which there is a large vocabulary. But the Tuareg never camp too close to water places where there is little pasture, many foreigners and consequently little peace. The distance from camp to water place varies, but is very frequently 1–3 kilometres. During the rainy season (*akasa*) water is very aundant all over Ayr, but outside this period conditions of water supply for human beings and livestock are more favourable in the north than in Ayr, where water most of the year must be drawn from wells. To raise water the Tuareg use a leather bucket known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *aga* (Fig. 97–98). The water drawn for the animals is poured out into a hole dug in clayey soil, or into a hole covered with a piece of skin or leather known in Ahaggar as *tafarawt*. This skin is nowadays frequently substituted by canvas (cf. Fig. 99). Where water is scarce and must be drawn from narrow wells, as in Ayr during the summer season, the watering of flocks and herds gives rise to frequent quarrels between pastoralists. For though the right to the use of wells is free to all there are many disputes and fights frequently

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

361 *akasa* period when there is green annual pasture, but the large camps have no co-operative functions
621 and no particular leader. The small camps join together to form big camps because their members are linked to each other by bonds of kinship, and consequently like to come together.

361 Most of the year the Ayr Tuareg live in very small camps around wells, and certain camps remain
221 on almost the same spot throughout the year. However, most camps move about in the *akasa* period, and later, at the end of the rains, many camps move southwards and westwards to the salt plains of Azawaɣ.

DIVISION OF LABOUR IN STOCK-BREEDING

462 Before we consider other activities, we shall briefly describe the division of labour in stock-breeding according to sex.

462 In all Tuareg groups noble women do very little work. They engage in a few very esteemed crafts
565 such as embroidery, neat decoration of leather work, and in the north they cut ornamented milk-
[567] bowls from wood. The true domestic duties of a noble household are performed by slaves. This to some extent is also true of other social classes among the Northern Tuareg, while the Ayr Tuareg vassals have very few slaves nowadays. But even in vassal camps among the Northern Tuareg women have their duties and engage in all kinds of domestic work, also in stock-breeding. In the two groups
462 *233 of Northern Tuareg the division of work in stock-breeding can be seen when one enters a tent of a
342 vassal camp:—
[566] One half of the tent (the left part) is occupied by the woman and contains such implements as are connected with tanning, leather-work, cooking, butter- and cheese-making, and generally all implements connected with the breeding of goats, sheep, and donkeys. The other half of the tent (the right part), occupied by the husband, contains saddles and all other objects connected with camels. The tending of goats, sheep, and donkeys is the task of women, while camel-breeding is the business of men.

462 Before initiation Tuareg boys may be occupied with herding goats, sheep, and donkeys, but when
*233 they have adopted the veil they should preferably take care of camels only. There are, however, a
[857] few occasions where men engage in tasks connected with goats and donkeys:—

Goats like any other animal can be killed only by adult men, who also undertake the skinning and partition of the meat.

Castration of he-goats and rams may be done by men, but it is said that it is also performed by women.

When goats suffer from certain diseases they may in a few very special cases be taken care of by men. Thus when a goat has broken a leg and wooden splints are applied to the fracture this is generally performed by the husband of the household to which the animal belongs.

When goats and sheep are lost in the desert they may be searched for by men mounted on camels.

On the whole there are not many situations where the assistance of men is needed in tending goats and sheep, and most men have so little to do with goat-breeding that they do not know the exact meaning of many colour terms for goats.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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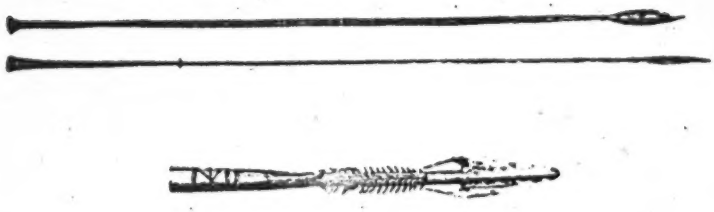

Fig. 112a–c. Tuareg spears.

a. Spear of the *tarda* type used for hunting. Ahaggar, Olufsen's collection. Dimension: 1.80 m (N.M. G. 1.156).
b. Iron spear of the *allor* type which is mainly a war weapon. Ahaggar, Collected by Olufsen. Dimension 1.82 m (N.M. G. 1.155).
c. Iron point of the barbed Tebu lance (*tarda*) occasionally used by the Ayr Tuareg. Dimension: 0.265 m (N.M. G. 6619).

224 they are eagerly pursued by many rifle-owning nomads. Lhote estimates that in the year 1939 the Ahaggar Tuareg killed 300 barbary sheep by means of their traditional hunting methods, while in the winter season 1949–50 more than 200 animals were killed with rifles in the central parts of Ahaggar (Lhote 1955a, p. 284). In 1954 the meat of one barbary sheep was sold for 4000 French francs, the hide for 2000 francs. Though hunting of these animals is officially prohibited by the French, it *is* tacitly permitted and meat is frequently sold at the market place of Tamanrasset.

The traditional methods used mainly in hunting gazelle and barbary sheep are as follows:—

(1) The spear (*tarda*; Fig. 112a) is nowadays used mainly by slaves, who never possess rifles. Before rifles became common it was the typical hunting weapon of all vassal Tuareg. Hunting with the spear takes place during the hottest time of the day, when the animals hide under rocks and trees to seek protection from the burning sun and the flies. It is then possible to creep very close to the game, and even the otherwise very shy barbary sheep can be taken in this way. When the hunter is close to the hiding place of a barbary sheep he claps his hand, and the animal rises, bewildered, and is then speared. In the past many barbary sheep were killed in this way, and it is said that a skilled and lucky hunter may even secure four or five animals in one day.

(2) The use of stalking animals. Hunting by this method is used by some African stock-breeders (cf. Lagercrantz 1950, p. 97 ff.). There is a detailed description of the use of camels trained for this purpose among the Arabs of the Northern Sahara (Harding King 1903, p. 171 ff.). As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not train their camels for stalking, but on journeys they frequently hide behind their animals to approach and kill gazelle. In this case the hunting weapon is normally a rifle. But the method is perhaps an ancient one and used also for other hunting weapons in the past, as game animals do not fear domestic animals among which they frequently graze in the desert. In fact, the ancient use of stalking animals in Northern Africa is clearly substantiated by a rock engraving at

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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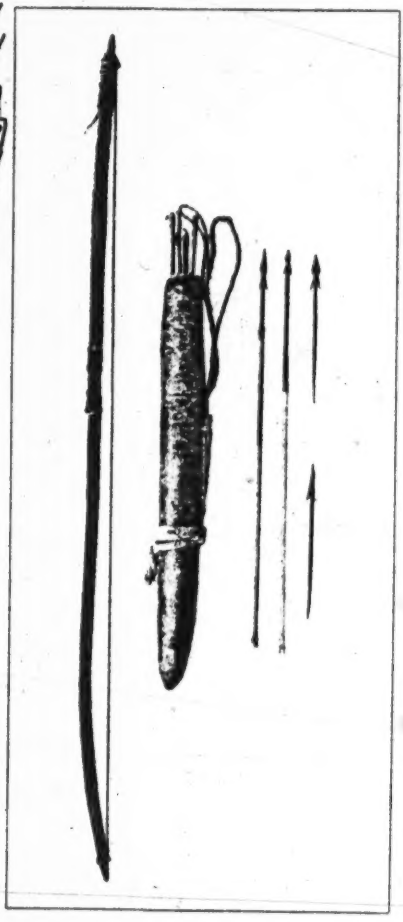

Fig. 119. Bow (*sagonzé*), arrows (*imeron*), and quiver (*éhomaren*) from the Hausa-speaking population living south of Ayr around Aderbissinat. The bow is made from wood of a tree called *édinen* and has a string of ox-hide. The arrows have shafts of wood or reed; their iron points are made by blacksmiths. The quiver is made from ox-hide with a plaster of cow's excreta applied to the inner side. Dimension of the bow: 1.20 m. (N.M. G. 6621).

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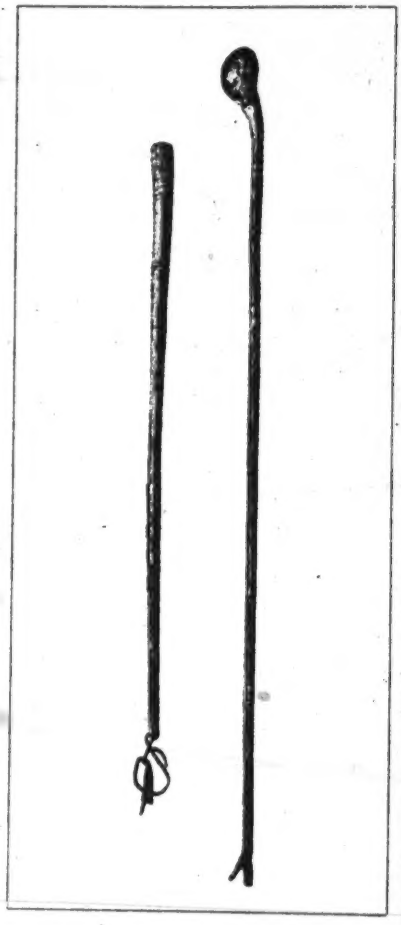

Fig. 120. Tuareg clubs.
a. Wooden club (*aburi*). Dimension: 0.995 m long (N.M. G. 1.159). Ahaggar, Olufsen's Collection.
b. Wooden club. Used for weapon and for cattle-driving by Tuareg around Timbuktu. Made from a bough of *Combretum aculeatum*. Collected by O. Hagerup. Dimension: 1.39 m long. (N.M. G. 3086). All slaves I saw among the *Iwilemmeden* near Ayoru carried this weapon.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

ajako. According to Foucauld a small annual edible plant growing in the Ahaggar Mountains at an altitude above 2000 metres (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 712). Maire mentions this plant as unindentified (Maire 1933, p. 263).

Collecting is mainly the task of women, but males – particularly uninitiated boys and slaves – also participate. Seed-plants are generally harvested by rubbing the ears of the plants between the fingers, but the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*) is cut with a sickle (*amreh*; Fig. 143 a–b) to be thrashed and winnowed like wheat and barley. Edible roots are frequently collected merely by hand. However, a digging stick (*élaweg*; Fig. 123) provided with an iron point is also used to dig up certain wild plants such as *ahahel* (*Cistanche Phelypaea*) and similar root plants. This digging stick is characteristic of vassal women who use it for many different purposes, e.g., to make holes for tent poles.

The very best among the above mentioned seed-plants is the *tullult* grass (*Aristida pungens*). Its seeds are collected or harvested by certain Tuareg inhabiting the lower parts of Ahaggar, but are important particularly to the Tuareg living in and around Tasilé-n-Ajjer. Within the Ahaggar Massif the most important seeds are those of *afezu* (*Panicum turgidum*) and *tawit* (*Chenopodium Vulvaria*). The right to collect these seeds is free to everybody, and Tuareg of the *Abada* zone may send their slaves to the *Atakor* zone to collect *tawit*-seeds in the mountain plateau of Asekrem. The species of *afezu* and *tawit* are sometimes protected by an ban on grazing for three and two months respectively in order that their seeds may grow ripe for collecting. The right to put a ban on grazing of the two species belongs to the Tuareg in whom territorial rights of a sub-area are vested (cf. p. 150). It is said that under very favourable conditions a single household may collect some hundred kilos of seeds of the two plants mentioned. This may seem rather impressive, but even in good years when milk is abundant collecting will not provide pastoral Tuareg of Ahaggar with sufficient vegetable food, for seeds of wild plants are far less nourishing than are grains of wheat, barley, and millet. The collecting of wild plants important for food is as dependent on climatic conditions as is stock-breeding. In dry years, when domestic animals yield little or no milk at all, there will also be no wild seeds for collecting.

Fig. 127. Very small bag known as *élem* ("skin") made from a kid's scrotum (*tigassatf*). The bag contains a piece of resin of the *tamat* acacia (*Acacia seyal*). This resin is eaten by the Tuareg as a remedy against stomachache. Ahaggar, the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the piece of resin: 0.07 m long. (F.M. 149a–b).

Agriculture

In the present chapter are described the agricultural techniques as I know them from Ahaggar (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and from Ayr, and the economic role of agriculture to the subsistence of pastoral Tuareg is discussed. 241

CULTIVATION WITHOUT ARTIFICIAL IRRIGATION

In the Sahara farming is almost exclusively based on artificial irrigation, and agriculture and stock-breeding are largely separated industries. Large-scale stock-breeding necessitates migrations, while irrigation agriculture must be practised by people who live on the same spot almost continuously. But nomadic stock-breeding and shifting cultivation are occupations which go well together at the borderland of steppe and desert in the north where nomads or semi-nomads sow wheat and barley. Lyon says that the bedouins of Tripolitania use a rude plough but more generally a hoe (Lyon 1821, p. 44). However, plough cultivation seems to predominate among the northern nomads nowadays. Shifting plough cultivation is an important subsidiary occupation for most northern nomads in an almost unbroken area between the Atlantic and the Nile or the Red Sea, but it does not penetrate very far into the true desert country. In Algeria I have not seen shifting cultivation practised further south than the oasis of Ghardaya, where nomads under favourable conditions of rainfall sow wheat and barley by means of a simple plough made of a forked piece of wood (Nicolaisen 1950, Fig. 9, p. 70; Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, pl. II,5 p. 47, Fig. 6 p. 54). West of Ghardaya the plough is known as far south as Tinduf and Beni Abbes, while it is known at Brak of Central Libya towards the east (cf. Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, map p. 40). Feilberg in one of his early works stated that the plough in Northern Africa is particularly attached to shifting cultivation as a sowing implement (Feilberg 1931, p. 199 ff.). This is in agrement with my own investigations in the Northern Sahara, and it is confirmed by the very remarkable study of Capot-Rey & Marçais, who state that the plough is not fitted irrigation agriculture of the Sahara because of the many fruit trees, notably date palm trees, and because of the whole complicated irrigation system (Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, p. 51; Feilberg 1931, p. 199). But there seems also to be another reason why the plough is found only in the Northern Sahara: It is particularly fitted for the sowing of wheat and barley, but less suitable for the sowing of millet and sorghum which are the most important cereals grown in the south (cf. Capot-Rey & Marçais 1953, p. 51; Feilberg 1931, p. 201). Barth records that he saw a kind of plough at Auderas in Ayr. It was drawn by three slaves who were driven like oxen by their master (Barth 1857, [567] I, p. 424). [p. 183]

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171

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

tion that subsisted on agriculture. Most members of the *Kel Ewey* group are fairly negroid in appearance, and though some of them lead a nomadic life and subsist mainly on stock-breeding, the bulk of the *Kel Ewey* are sedentary agriculturists who have some livestock comprising goats, sheep, zebus, and sometimes camels also. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group there are very few sedentary agriculturists, though a few vassals have taken up irrigation agriculture in recent times. There are also agriculturists within the negroid group of the *Kel Ferwan* known as *Irawélen*. Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have gardens cultivated by their slaves, but this is not customary nowadays when slavery is of little importance in Ayr. Contracts between pastoral Tuareg and cultivators are said to have been unknown until recent times when a few pastoralists have made contracts with cultivators. There seem to be no fixed systems regulating such relationships, but it is said to be common for the cultivator and the Tuareg to divide crops equally between them.

Though agriculture could be practised in Ayr without artificial irrigation there are no rain-grown crops within the Massif nowadays. The *foggara* system is unknown, and irrigation is done by raising water from shallow wells. The system of a pole and bucket provided with a counterweight known in Ayr as *aseftan* has disappeared quite recently. It was used at many agricultural settlements of Ayr until a few years ago, and in parts of the country formed the only type of irrigation system at the time of the French occupation. One informant told me that in his boyhood about 35 years ago no other irrigation method was employed at Alarses, and this is in agreement with literature (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 322). At that time, however, the method of raising water from wells by animal traction (in Ayr *anu*, in Ahaggar *tanut*) was also practised at many settlements. It is unknown when it came to Ayr, but it is said to have been introduced from the north – probably from the regions of Fezzan and Tasilé-n-Ajjer from where the same system came to Ahaggar (cf. p. 187). It is now used at all settlements as the only type of irrigation system, and zebu-oxen are always used for traction. This was not so in the past when zebus were less common than to-day, and it is said that donkeys were then the common draught-animals. The irrigation of gardens is performed in much the same way as in Ahaggar. The water raised from the shallow well (*anu*) is led through a narrow canal (*arelal*) to a large basin (*tisemt*) from where another canal (*duki*) leads to the garden (*afarag*), which is divided into a number of beds (*éfenral*).

Cereals form the most important crops in Ayr. The common winter crop is wheat (*elkama*; *Triticum vulgare*), but also barley (*Hordeum tetrastichum* var. *pallidum*) is very widely grown. One crop of these two cereals is taken every winter, and it is said that the period of growth is about five months; sowing is done in October, harvest in March. Cereals are also important for summer crops. Both millet (*énélé*; *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and sorghum (*abora*; *Sorghum caudatum*) are grown, and millet, as we have seen, has a very short period of growth – only about two months (cf. p. 184). But though millet is most important as food for agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike, it is not widely grown because it is difficult to protect it from the numerous small birds and because, it is said, millet grown in Ayr is of a quality inferior to that of the Sudanese type. Most of the millet eaten in Ayr is therefore imported from Damergu by pastoral Tuareg. By far the most important summer crop grown in Ayr is maize (*Zea mays*), which is known to the Tuareg as *abora maser*, that is "Egyptian sorghum" (*abora* = sorghum; *maser* = Egypt) (the name *maser* is also used to designate the white cotton used for garments

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

added that wars were not confirmed to fighting between these large political groups, for there was also fighting within these groups at intervals.

The Ayr Tuareg had as their main enemies the Tebu, the Eastern *Iwllemmeden* and the Arab pastoralists of the Tawa district. In Ayr there were also sharp disputes between various drum-groups of the Ayr federation, notably between the *Kel Ferwan* and the *Kel Faday*. The *Kel Faday* Tuareg frequently joined forces with the *Kel Dennek* in fighting the *Kel Ferwan*.

Throughout the 19th century there was a risk of severe trouble everywhere in the Sahara with adjacent regions, but caravan trading was most important to Tuareg subsistence at that period in spite of these latent conditions of hostility.

Great caravans then crossed the desert carrying gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves from the Sudan to the Mediterranean, and south-bound caravans traded with salt and Arab and European goods. The Tuareg had their important part in these large trading expeditions, and they traded with their surplus of livestock and stock-breeding products much in the same way as they do nowadays. They acquired dates and millet from the sedentary farmers who were in constant need of meat, butter, cheese, and the like.

The organization of caravan trading among the Ahaggar Tuareg was different in the past. To-day the normal trading units are tribal sections, and this was probably also true in pre-European times, but these trading units did not travel independently as they do nowadays. Several tribes of the same drum-group travelled together under the leadership of a noble Tuareg of the dominant tribe of their chiefdom. When the Ahaggar Tuareg had no severe disputes with the *Ulad Ba Hammu* who dominated the Tidikelt oases, they traded with their population of sedentary farmers much as they do nowadays. They brought livestock, butter, dried meat, and Sudanese goods which were bartered for dates and Arab goods. The Ahaggar Tuareg also traded southwards, but they say that they did not go further south than Agadez, as it was considered dangerous to penetrate too far into the Sudan. They also say that they did not trade with salt until a few years before the arrival of the French, and that the important trading object before that time were donkeys, of which there was a shortage in Ayr. All this seems to agree with Duveyrier's statement that the salt deposits of Amadror were not utilized in his time owing to insecurity, though he says that the deposits situated on the caravan road from Wargla to Agadez had formerly been mined (Duveyrier 1864, p. 143 f.). As to the caravan trade of the Ayr Tuareg, I believe that it was very much as it is nowadays, comprising trading expeditions to the millet-growing Sudan and to the Bilma oasis. It is most possible that the Ayr Tuareg also then travelled in larger units to protect themselves and their goods, for the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past camps were always bigger than to-day, as a camp consisting only of three to five tents could not defend itself against raiders.

It is known that the slave trade was carried on until the arrival of Europeans and in certain parts of the Sahara even later. Both the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ayr* claim that they engaged in slave trading until it was abolished by the French authorities. However, it seems as if the Tuareg never engaged in this trade to the same extent as the Arabs. This is stated by Bissuel in regard to the Tuareg of Ahnet who bought their slaves from the market of Timbuktu. In general they kept these slaves for their own use, in contrast to the Arabs of Tidikelt who traded with slaves on a very large scale (Bissuel

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

1888, p. 21 f.). Duveyrier says that among the *Kel Aljer* all noble Tuareg had slaves, while only some of the vassals were slave owners. He says that slaves were bought and sold in towns (Duveyrier 1864, p. 339). Information about the Tuareg slave trade is given by Richardson, who undertook his journeys mainly to collect material on slavery which is described throughout his journals. According to Richardson's descriptions there can be little doubt that the Tuareg engaged in the slave trade, but I think that perhaps his statements are tinged by his deep antiphathy to slavery (cf. Richardson 1848, I–II & 1853, I–II). It is most possible that the Tuareg slave caravans he mentions were organized by Arab merchants of Rat and Radames. The former engagement of pastoral Tuareg in the slave trade has also been mentioned by Lyon (Lyon 1821).

As to Tuareg caravan trade throughout the 19th century, we can add that all Tuareg tribes did not trade to the same extent. Within most groups there were certain tribes of particular classes which did not go in so much for warfare and raiding, but were keen traders. This was true of tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class in Ahaggar, and in Ahnet there were two Arab tribes allied with the drum-group of *Taytoḳ*, namely the *Sekakna* and the *Mazil* who were responsible for the very important trade with Timbuktu (Bissuel 1888, p. 24). Among the *Kel Aljer* the *Ifoṛas* tribes traded on a much larger scale than other tribes (Duveyrier 1864, p. 359 ff.). In Ayr the same was true of certain tribes of the *Kel Ewey* group.

However, throughout the 19th century all Tuareg, with the exception of those of the nobility, engaged in caravan trading which played a great part for the pastoralists, providing them with cereals and dates necessary for their subsistence. Already in this century certain pastoralists had taken up irrigation agriculture, and some of them practised a very primitive type of agriculture, but vegetable products were acquired mainly through caravan trading.

[text continues on p. 221]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

292 ceremonial ridings as those described on p. 104 f. I have been informed both in Ahaggar and in Ayr that bandoleers were used exclusively for such purposes. Rodd depicts a rock-drawing from Timia in Ayr and believes that it perhaps represents a man wearing a bandoleer (Rood 1926a, p. 194, pl. 40 p. 305). This may be so, but I have been told by Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group that bandoleers were introduced among the Ayr Tuareg by the French when they formed the camel patrol made up of Tuareg from different Ayr tribes. However, my informants also claimed that the use of bandoleers for camel riders was an ancient custom in the north among the Ahaggar Tuareg, from where it was introduced to Ayr by the French. Informants of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer told me that the custom was traditional to noble Tuareg but not to vassals, though Tuareg of the vassal class also wear bandoleers nowadays.

291 Apart from the head-cloth (*ékerhey*) the following garments are typical of Northern Tuareg women:— (1) *tékamist*, that is a large and wide shirt of cotton, in form and cut identical with the man's shirt; (2) *aseǧbes*, a large piece of cotton used for a skirt or a petticoat; this is fixed tightly around the waist merely by folding it at the upper edge; (3) *tikest*, a large piece of cotton worn as a shawl over the shoulders and head, covering the head-cloth.

In addition to the head-cloth (*adalil*), which they frequently wear rolled up on the top of the head, Tuareg women of the *Kel Ferwan* group wear three main garments:— (1) *aftek*, a very short shirt of poncho cut. It is very akin to the shirt worn by Hausa-speaking women of Agadez, who use the words

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Fig. 237. Slave-boy wearing the loin-cloth depicted above Fig. 238. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 238. Loin-cloth consisting of a piece of tanned and depilated goat-skin. It is known as *arḡaḡ* and is worn mainly by boys and young slaves. Dimension: 0.715 × 0.575 m. Ahaggar, the *Aḡuh-en-tehlé* tribe. (N.M. G. 5258).

291 *liga* or *tagua* for this garment piece; (2) *téri*, a large piece of cotton worn as a skirt wound around the waist in the same way as in the north; (3) *tesegbes*, a large piece of cotton used as a petticoat.

[114] Lhote has published some very interesting information on the dress of Tuareg women. Thus he mentions that certain women among Sudanese Tuareg wear a kind of shawl over the shoulders instead of a poncho shirt. I have myself seen this garment among pastoral Arabs south of Ayr and close to [587] Aderbissinat, but I have never seen it among the Tuareg. Still more interesting is Lhote's description of a skin skirt worn by slave women among the *Iwillemmeden* (Lhote 1955a, p. 308). This leather skirt, which is laced around the waist by means of a leather cord, is also recorded from the *Bélla* of Timbuktu by Dupuis-Yakouba (cf. Seabrook 1934, p. 251), and some skirts of the same type are conserved in the "Musée de l'homme" in Paris. One skirt among those found in the Paris museum (no. 33.78.9) comes from the Sudanese *Bélla*, and was collected in the region of Arawan by the "Expedition du [294] Hall" in 1945. It is made from several pieces of decorated leather sewn together with leather thread; its total length is about 0.70 m. Another skirt of the same type, but without a museum number, is perhaps of the same origin. In addition to these two skirts the Paris museum possesses three other leather skirts of the same type. They were collected by Lhote in 1939 among Tuareg living in the south-west. One of these skirts is from the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (mus. no. 41.19.845) while the two others [847] [846] come from the *Kel Inteser* (mus. no. 41.19.846 & 847). The skirts are known as *elaraite* according to the museum's card-index, where it is stated that they are worn by slave women, and it is added that similar leather skirts were worn by slave women and poor women of the vassal class among the Ayr Tuareg up to the French occupation of Ayr

[Text continues on p. 296]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

*342 281 shape. In Southern Tuareg groups the skin tents also vary much in size, but they tend to be larger. Thus it is stated by Nicolas that skin tents among the *Kel Dennek* measure up to one hundred square metres (Nicolas 1938, p. 54), and Lhote says that 80–150 skins are used for sheets of the very large tents of the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (Lhote 1947a, p. 100).

[304] The Tuareg themselves do not refer to the size of a tent by counting the number of skins, or by measuring. The size of a tent is indicated by reference to the number of skin rows in the longitudinal direction of the sheet, and these rows of skin are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *taṛda* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 ff.). I have myself seen extremely small tents having a sheet of only three *taṛda*, but a tent of normal size will generally have four or five such skin rows, and some even have six or [462] seven *taṛda*. Among the Northern Tuareg the sheet is manufactured in Tuareg camps by pastoral [562] women and their female slaves. Among the *Kel Dennek*, tent sheets are manufactured by women of [564] the blacksmith caste (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 155).

*342 285 A mat to be drawn around the lower part of the dwelling constitutes a very essential part of Tuareg skin tents. This mat is generally made from the stems of *afezu* (*afeẓu*) grass (*Panicum turgidum*) tied together with leather strips as already described. A tent mat at times is divided into two halves which are rolled up and placed at each of the narrow ends of the tent during hot weather so that currents [351] of air may pass through. When weather is cold and also when storms are raging, the Tuareg close their tents with these mats, which may also be drawn out to form a kind of low courtyard in front of the tent (cf. Figs. 267–269). The straw mat made from *afezu* stems tied to one another is known as *ẽseber* (pl. *isebran*) both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, while the name of a tent mat among the *Kel Dennek* is *šitek* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 154), or *chitek* according to our transcription system. Among the Northern Tuareg, tent mats are generally about one metre high, while varying much as to length. These mats very frequently serve as a kind of wind-screen leaning against poles,

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Fig. 267. Skin tent seen from the back. The shape of the sheet is most irregular. Ahaggar, the *Ajjeh-en-tehlé* tribe.

[Text continues on p. 364]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by *Kel Ferwan* vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the *Kel Tédalé*. That some of them are noble by origin seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the *Kel Tédalé* in part are related to the *Ihaḍanaren* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter tribe, though without vassals, is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

As to the origin of vassalage among the Ayr Tuareg, it is probable that this is due to the meeting of distinct cultures based mainly on camel-breeding and goat-breeding. Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:— "One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for long periods or trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances" (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rôdd, however, also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to mainly by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the particular camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. But I have been told by many Tuareg that there were in the past very few camels in vassal tribes, and though most Tuareg apparently hold the view that the vassals have always had camels, the Sultan *Umar* claims that originally they had none while the noble Tuareg have owned these animals since times immemorial. So it might seem as if the political system of the drum-group in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, was founded upon a class division with its root in the meeting of distinct pastoral cultures. It is a fact that certain vassal tribes were attached to their noble lords as a kind of workers with the duty of performing such work as could not be done properly by negroid slaves. Among these tribes were the *Ikawkan* attached to the *Kel Azel*, and the *Iḳḳoberen* and the *Iberdyanen* attached to the *Irawatten*.

It is most likely that the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg had vassals before they arrived in Ayr, for many true vassals hold that they have immigrated from the traditional homeland of their noble lords. However, there are in Ayr also certain tribes which have lost their noble status and become a kind of vassals owing to having been subdued in fairly recent wars.

THE KEL GERES DRUM-GROUP

There is no class-division of so-called noble Tuareg and vassals among the *Kel Geres*. In this respect they differ from most other Tuareg groups except for the *Kel Ewey* among whom a division into classes of this kind has ceased to exist – probably because the *Kel Ewey* have mixed with the sedentary negroid population of the Ayr villages. In *Kel Ewey* certain tribes are more important than others, but

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

used for other important chiefs but the *Amenukal-n-akal*, while the title *ettebel* is reserved to those chiefs that command a drum-group and possess a drum. These drum-chiefs, including the *Amenukal-n-akal*, have the right to an annual tribute known as *šiuse* (*chiwsé*) from their individual vassals, and it seems as if the tribute known as *sadaka* or *tamessadek* must also be given to them, because the drum-chief is inseparable from his *Kadi* or *Imam* who shares this tribute, originally a purely religious one. It would appear that the drum-chief also has the right to *tekasit* or *takote* (*takuté*), that is the right to inherit part of the fortune left by deceased vassals. As in Ahaggar, the drum-chiefs have certain delegates or representatives who are known as *Khalifas* or *Anemazul*. It also seems as if there were in the past, as in Ahaggar, smaller units of noble Tuareg and vassals, and it is stated by Nicolas that the vassals were under the obligation to guard the herds of their noble lords. The vassals have the right to take part in political or judicial councils (*ameni* and *zemaret*), but they have no right to take part in decisions, or to vote at the election of a drum-chief. They had also no right to possess camels. The noble Tuareg had all political rights and the privilege of waging war. They had the right to war-booty which they would distribute among their vassals who might even be wealthy. – These are the main features of the *Kel Dennek* system. It began to break down already in 1900, and there has been no supreme chief of the *Kel Dennek* since 1917 (cf. Nicolas 1939, p. 579–586 & 1950a, p. 188–193, 201–209).

THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL ATARAM

The *Kel Ataram* have been little written about. The best description is given by Richer who says that in pre-French times the South-western Tuareg were divided into two federations:— (1) the *Kel Tademaket* around Timbuktu and (2) the *Iwllemmeden Kel Ataram* around Gao and Meneka. In both federations there are noble Tuareg (*Imuchar*) and vassals (*Imrad*, sing *Amerid*, or *Dara*). The dominant noble class holds its power because of its pure origin and strength. The vassals are more mixed with Arabs and Negroes. They have herds of their own and slaves (*Bélla*). They pay *tiwsé* to the noble Tuareg, but this payment is a very small one and mainly to be considered a symbolic admission of the supreme power of the noble Tuareg. The noble Tuareg in the past had to protect their vassals, but the vassals accompanied their noble masters on raids and were given part of the war-booty. All tribes, whether noble or vassal, have a chief known as *Amrar*, but all important decisions are made by the *myad*, that is a council of noble Tuareg with their chief acting as a kind of president. This council of noble Tuareg elects a supreme chief with the title of *Amenukal*, but the vassals also have the right to vote at his election. The *Amenukal* is mainly occupied with foreign policy and with warfare. He is always elected from the same tribe, but his office is not hereditary nor is it necessarily held for a lifetime. The insignia of the *Amenukal* is the drum, *tobol*. Richer gives no further particulars of the political system, and many of the vassals had already at his time gained an entirely free position (Richer 1924, p. 3 f.). – To this description given by Richer I add a few notes taken from Aymard:— Vassal tribes can have a superior position in relation to other vassal tribes. Thus many small and weak tribes are commanded by the *Kel Gossi* and *Idnanes* who are vassals. A noble Tuareg does not marry a vassal woman, while a noble woman may marry a vassal Tuareg as her children will become noble.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

of Africa, Sachs says that they occur mainly in Islamic West Asia from where they were recently introduced to Europe and to India where terms for kettle-drums are derived from Arabic (Sachs 1923, p. 58 ff.; 1929, p. 247). Wieschhoff admits that the kettle-drums seem to have been introduced into India with Islam, but he concludes that the distribution of them in the Sudan and in North-east Africa indicates that this element belongs to the so-called North Erytrean Culture (cf. Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40 ff., map 29e).

I do not want to advance any theory about the introduction of kettle-drums into Africa, but it seems natural to consider the Tuareg drums known as *ettebel* as an Islamic trait. However we cannot be sure that the use of drums as insignia of chiefs is post-Islamic, for, as we have seen, the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in many parts of Africa.

The theory that the drums used by Tuareg chiefs are Islamic seems to agree with the fact that the custom of crowning chiefs among the Tuareg by means of a large turban or headcloth is no doubt also an Arab practice. The use of a turban to crown or install kings and supreme chiefs is rare in Africa south of the Sahara. The use of the turban for the kings of Dar Fur, Wadai, and Bornu is no doubt to be considered Islamic (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 68; Ibstam 1944, p. 118), and there can also be little doubt that the use of a large turban at the installation of chiefs in Tibesti and Ennedi was originally introduced as a result of contact with the Arabs – particularly as this turban is known by the Arabic term *kadmul* (cf. Kronenberg 1958, p. 74 f.; Fuchs 1961, p. 52).

It is clear that Islam has greatly influenced Tuareg political organization. But we should also bear in mind that North Africa in pre-Islamic times was influenced by various high cultures which are generally known as *Old Mediterranean* (*Syrtic*) and *Young Sudanese* (*North Erytrean*). It is very possible that the first noble Tuareg who penetrated into the Sahara with their camels came from a country situated towards the East or the North-east, and we have seen that the Ayr Tuareg have traditions about their origin in these quarters (cf. p. 412 ff.). It might therefore seem natural to assume that certain traits which are grouped under the vaguely-defined *Young Sudanese Culture* have been introduced into the Sahara with the immigration of the first noble Tuareg. Lhote thinks that the sandal type known as *takalmi* was perhaps introduced from Egypt with Tuareg immigrations from that country (Lhote 1950d, p. 531). We cannot know this, but it is possible that the oldest camel-breeding nomads introduced into the Sahara certain elements of the so-called *Young Sudanese Culture*.

TUAREG SLAVERY

It is very possible that the political system of the pastoral Tuareg has been greatly influenced by slavery in the sense that slavery made the noble Tuareg less dependent on their vassals. Throughout the 19th century slavery was important to fair-skinned pastoralists of all classes. In other respects it has had little effect on the changing political relations, for slaves do not constitute a class or a true caste; they are incorporated into Tuareg society on a kinship pattern.

Slavery is still extremely important in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer where the French military administration has done very little to abolish it. It is true that the slave-trade no longer exists, but

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

133
342
567

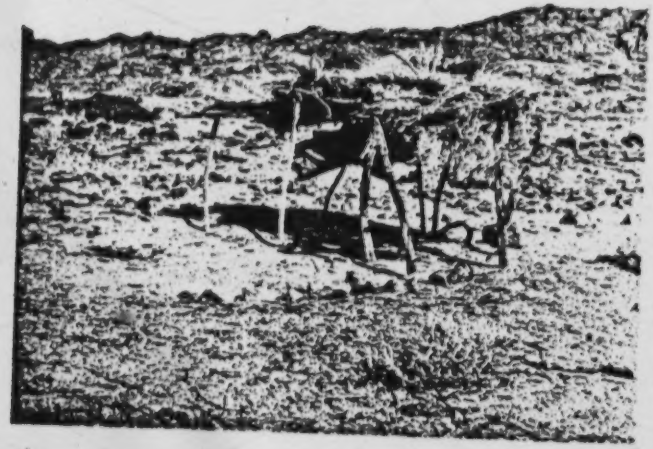

Fig. 290. Sun-shade built of branches and grass. It is the normal living quarters for slaves in Ahaggar and for a great part of the year it is more suitable to the climate than Tuareg skin tents. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

567 646 [162] military administrators have tacitly admitted that slavery continues as an established institution. According to a census of 1949, there are in Ahaggar 1552 slaves owned by 3960 pastoral Tuareg (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 224 ff.), and in two tribes the number of slaves exceeds that of fair-skinned Tuareg, namely in the *Dag Rali* and in the *Kel Rela*. Most Ahaggar Tuareg have a few slaves in their camps, while in Ayr very few fair-skinned pastoralists have slaves nowadays. The civil administration of Ayr has done much to secure the abolishment of slavery, and it seems as if many slaves were manumitted after the 1917 revolt. Slavery is actually almost devoid of economic importance in Ayr, while in Ahaggar it plays a great part in the maintenance of the economic system based upon camel-breeding outside Ahaggar and on caravan-trading.

567 [184]

The structural position of slavery is apparently very much the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. Slaves are their owners' property; they can no longer be traded, but even in pre-European days it was never usual to sell slaves from one's own camp. The slaves are still inherited within one and the same family, and until a few years ago it was the custom for a slave girl to form part of the bride-wealth. Despite everything this may perhaps be taken as an indication that slaves are not conspicuously well treated, and there are also examples of the corporal punishment of slaves. This may occur even to-day, the rule being that certain misdemeanours, for which the light-skinned Tuareg atone by paying a fine of domestic animals, may be punished in the case of slaves by a flogging on the order of senior chiefs.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

291
342
567

Fig. 291. Sun-shade built by slaves in Ayr on the same principle as the mat tents previously mentioned. The standing slave girl only wears a cotton skirt which sometimes in the south forms the sole dress of women. Ayr, the *Irawatten* tribe.

It is, however, rare for a slave to be punished in this way by his own master. Throughout the time I 567
have lived among the Tuareg I have, for example, only noted two instances of corporal punishment, and both in a very mild form. It is also very normal in vassal camps for slave children and Tuareg children to play together, and a slave owner may treat his slave children in much the same way as his own.

There are several reasons why the Tuareg, practically speaking, never punish their slaves, and a very interesting custom may here be adduced. For if a slave is badly treated, he has always the recourse of changing masters by means of a system which is still in operation to this day. In Ahaggar the way thereby a slave can obtain his freedom from his master and become attached to another Tuareg is as follows:— When he sees a riding camel belonging to a Tuareg whose slave he wishes to be, he runs up to it and cuts a piece from one of its ears. In consequence of this the owner of the camel is obliged to take possession of the slave, whose actual and original owner can no longer make any claim to recover him. This custom may appear remarkable, but it is in fact a symbolic action with a deeper significance: to cut a piece from the ear of another man's camel is to damage it, and a Tuareg is responsible for the actions of his slaves. The "guilty" slave therefore falls to the lot of the owner of the camel as "compensation" for the "damage" done to his beast, and the original owner of the slave is bound to agree to this. It is an extreme loss of prestige for a Tuareg to lose his slave in this way, 558
and is a great mark of honour for the new master, who will receive his slave with favour and give him

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

567 clothes and a camel with saddle; there will thus be an excellent relationship between master and slave. This method of cutting the ear of another man's riding camel to become his slave is also known to have been practised in Ayr. However, the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that among them a slave who wanted to become attached to another master would rather cut a slight slit in the ear of one of that man's children. The slave would thus become attached to the father of the "wounded" child.

In cases where a slave simply runs away, his master will always demand his return. But in Ahaggar, the senior chieftain, the *Amenukal*, may intervene on behalf of the slave if he learns that the runaway slave has been badly treated or is badly clothed. There are thus certain rules which serve to promote reasonably good conditions for the slaves. However, only under exceptional circumstances do they eat with their masters, and they normally live, not in tents, but in open windscreens or shades from the sun. In general, though, there is little difference between the way of life of the Tuareg and their slaves, and they wear fairly similar clothes and ornaments. The slaves also bear weapons, and in the old days, when camel-raiding and warfare formed, as it were, a part of the Tuareg economy, they often accompanied their masters on raids. If a Tuareg family owns a sufficiently large number of slaves they will often not only carry out much of the heavier household work but will also watch over the flocks and herds; and as herdsmen they often have a position of considerable influence, as they are better acquainted with the care of the various types of animals than are the Tuareg themselves. To all this may be added a custom of particular interest. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg each tribe owns [422] a particular portion of a beast so that from a slaughtered beast one tribe is entitled to a portion of the back, another to the heart, a third to the liver, and so on. The slaves have similar rights in such cases, being entitled to the neck and in some regions also to the tail and the feet. When a beast is slaughtered these portions must always be given to the slaves.

The slaves are thus not completely without rights. Nevertheless the ordinary rules of inheritance do not apply to them. If a slave is on good terms with his master, the latter will, in the course of years, give him a certain number of goats as his personal possession – which he may, for example, slaughter or sell as he wishes. But when a slave dies his children cannot inherit his flocks or any other of his possessions. Everything then will become the property of his master.

567 This is in agreement with the fact that slavery is organized upon a kinship pattern in the way that 608 slaves are normally the fictive children of their master, a man being the "father" of his slaves, while a female slave-owner will be their "mother", for slaves are always owned individually by pastoral Tuareg, and though the men are perhaps more frequently slave-owners than are women, slaves may be owned by pastoralists of both sexes. This position of slaves as "children" of the slave-owner means that the owner's brothers, sisters and parents are considered a kind of "parent" by his slaves. This again results in young slaves being considered a kind of "brother and sister" to the slave-owner's children and those of relatives of the slave-owner's generation. The organization of slavery on a kinship pattern can be demonstrated by means of the following examples:—

[423] (1) When a young slave marries it is the duty of the slave-owner as his "father" to pay the necessary amount of bride-wealth which will comprise a few goats – normally three to five animals – and this bride-wealth goes to the owner of the slave girl with whom the slave marries. A Tuareg women will as a slave-owner make and receive the payments connected with the marriages of her individual slaves in the same way as a male Tuareg slave-owner.

[Text continues on p. 444]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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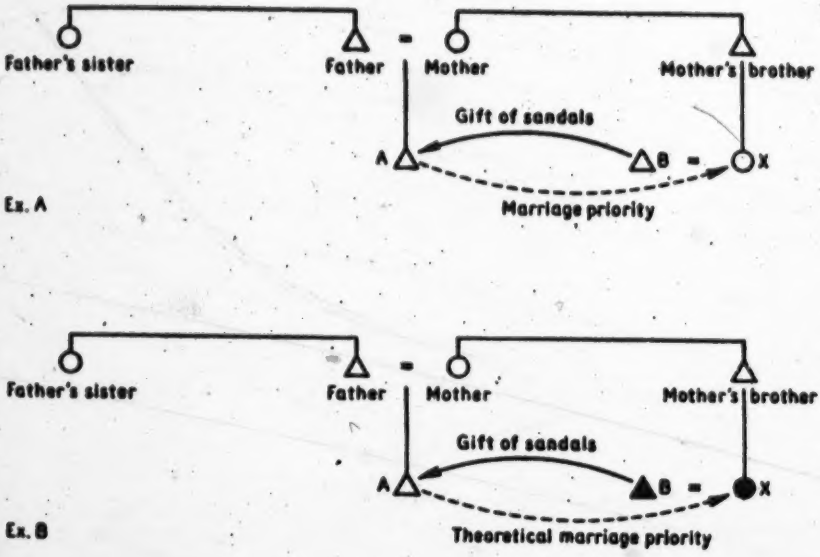

Fig. 292. Diagram illustrating how Tuareg slavery in Ahaggar is based upon kinship structure.

Ex. A. The Tuareg A has a sort of first-priority to marriage with his mother's brother's daughter X, who, however, marries B, who has no especial right to marry X. During the marriage ceremony B or one of his brothers must thus give a pair of sandals to A.

Ex. B. The slave-girl X belongs to A's mother's brother and is the latter's fictive daughter; she is therefore regarded as A's mother's brother's daughter, and A accordingly has first-priority to marriage with X. As a slave-girl, however, X will marry the slave B, but A will receive the gift of sandals, just as though X were his actual mother's brother's daughter.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

567 608 in the same way as a male Tuareg slave-owner. When a slave marries a slave girl the latter becomes the daughter-in-law of her husband's owner, and there will consequently be a kind of avoidance between these persons as between other relatives-in-law of different generations. In connection with slave-marriages it is of some interest to mention the following custom practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar:—

582 43 Among the Tuareg of Ahaggar a man has a certain marriage priority to his mother's brother's daughter according to rules which are outlined in the next chapter (p. 458 ff.). Therefore when a Tuareg's mother's brother's daughter marries somebody else the first man vill be entitled to a pair of sandals from the groom. In agreement with this custom a slave when marrying a slave-girl must give a pair of sandals to his wife's owner's ("father's") sister's son as explained in the diagram above (Fig. 292).

(2) The husband in a Tuareg pastoral family stands in the relationship of "father-in-law" (*adeggal*) to all slaves owned by his wife, while the wife is the "mother-in-law" (*tadeggalt*) of all slaves owned by her husband. Between these fictive relatives-in-law there is institutional avoidance which, however, is far less strictly observed than for true relatives by marriage of different generations. Owing to these rules a man must not or should not marry a slave girl owned by his divorced or deceased wife, just as it would be improper to marry a daughter-in-law.

(3) It is not forbidden for a man to marry a slave-girl whom he owns, even though she is considered his "daughter". This does not disagree with ordinary kinship-rules for a man is permitted to marry some of his classificatory daughters. If a man marries his own slave girl his children, among the Ayr Tuareg, would not be considered *Ichardanen* or *Iburelliten*, that is "mulattoes". They have the right to be considered true Tuareg or *Imajeren*, but in case of disagreements between a Tuareg of this type, and other people, they will call him by one of the terms used for "mulattoes", and may even call him "slave". If a man marries a slave girl who does not belong to him, his children of that marriage will 583 not become true Tuareg. But a Tuareg who wishes to marry a woman of slave status or a mulatto will attempt to secure the acknowledgment of his wife and her children as true Tuareg by the payment of a high bride-price. Thus a Tuareg of Ahaggar who married a mulatto girl gave for bride-wealth seven camels as is customary for noble Tuareg in the two northern groups, though the price according 554 to traditional rules should not exceed the value of one camel. It must be added that the position in Tuareg society of people who are not true Tuareg by origin depends greatly upon personal qualities. If a man is wise, rich, and generous, or if he is a marabut, all Tuareg will be ready to associate with him on equal terms even though he be predominantly negroid. I have noted several examples of this, and once met a very negroid nomad who was greatly respected by all Tuareg because he had once 584 killed seven goats in one day to entertain foreign guests. There are certain classes and castes in Tuareg 567 society. Formally it seems comparatively easy for children of mixed marriages of Tuareg and slaves to be considered Tuareg as slaves have a social position different from that of true black-skinned castes.

567 608 (4) If a slave woman has suckled a Tuareg girl or has taken a little fair-skinned Tuareg girl to her as her own, she will be recognized as the girl's true mother. And if the slave woman has children of her own they will be recognized as brothers and sisters of the little Tuareg girl. When the Tuareg girl later marries, her husband will be considered the true son-inlaw of her slave-mother and there will

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

be a very strict avoidance relationship between them. However, the slave-mother has no right to inherit (*tekachit*) the livestock left on the death of her Tuareg daughter, but a certain amount of stock will be given her under the designation of *elhakk*. The Tuareg girl will not inherit her slave-mother, nor will she have the right to a number of her animals.

The above examples indicate the main structural features of Tuareg slavery. Most important among them is the position of slaves as children of their masters, though it should be stated that the rules of behaviour between owner and slaves are not necessarily like those valid for parents and children. A young slave owner will not be rough with his old slaves, but will generally behave very kindly towards them, refraining from giving them orders in the way he would command his younger slaves. Age distinctions play a great rôle in relationships between Tuareg and their slaves, and a description of Tuareg slavery should not only outline its structure but also underline the fact that we cannot establish very fixed rules for the relationship between Tuareg and slaves, as it varies very much with individuals. Some slave-owners treat their very young slaves almost like their own children, while other slave-owners do not. Some Tuareg are constantly talking disparagingly about their slaves while outwardly appearing to be very kind to them. There are many facets of Tuareg slavery.

The position of slaves as children of their owners causes slaves to belong not only to particular families and family groups, but also to tribes and, in a certain sense, even to classes. I have often noticed this in Ahaggar where tribes within the same class frequently have an attitude towards each other which is described by the Tuareg word *inmeñhaṛen*, that is "to have a feeling of envy or jealousy towards somebody". *Inmeñhaṛen* is rather an attitude of reserve and outward respect than a kind of avoidance. People of tribes or sub-tribes which have *inmeñhaṛen* relationships to one another will not visit each others' camps except on certain occasions when dressed in their best clothes, and they will then behave with the uttermost reservation and respect to each other. If two tribes have such a relationship to one another, it will normally also comprise their slaves, who will behave towards each other in the same fashion. If on the other hand two tribes have institutional joking with one another, as is the case with certain vassal tribes in relation to tribes of the *Iseḳḳemaren* class, there will also be joking between their slaves. There seems to be a strong tendency for the slaves to behave towards each other in a manner corresponding to that of their master.

In spite of the kinship pattern on which the relationships of Tuareg slaves and slave-owners is based, it is most noteworthy that there is always latent joking between them, as there is between many different classes and castes in Tuareg society. On certain occasions a Tuareg slave owner will joke freely even with his young or older slaves, though he will never joke with his children who have to show their father the outmost respect (cf. p. 454). Such a joking relationship is still more common between Tuareg and slaves who are not attached to one another by possession bonds. But it never exists between Tuareg and slaves who are not already known to each other.

The noble Tuareg may also joke with slaves but seem less inclined to do so than Tuareg of other classes. Apart from that, the relationship between noble Tuareg and slaves does not deviate from the description presented above. Noble Tuareg can marry slave women though they cannot easily marry Tuareg women of the vassal class. This may seem rather strange, but is in fact not so unusual as it might seem. We have stated above (p. 429 f.) that the reason why noble Tuareg and vassals could not

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

565 easily intermarry was to be looked for in the structure of the political system based upon the division
567 of society into noble and vassal classes. A marriage between nobles and vassals would apparently tend
64 to break down the political structure, but this would not be the case with a marriage between a noble Tuareg and a slave woman, for slaves are attached to the tribe of their masters as their "children" and play no part in political structure. Furthermore, if a noble Tuareg marries a slave-girl belonging to him, their children will also be able to adopt a noble status.